

Theses of Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

**"The changing identity of Gypsies"
Identity Patterns in Three Generations of Olah
Gypsy Women**

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I. Aims and scope of the dissertation, overview of the topic

The accelerating economic and social transformation of modern-day Europe has brought change in a myriad of areas. Changes in schooling, childbearing and employment patterns, but also in traditional gender roles. These changes have also led to significant changes in the lives of Roma groups living in society, as well as in mainstream society. Although the process of modernisation among Gypsies started later and the effects were slower to develop, the effects of delayed modernisation are now undoubtedly being felt among them. Prior to the regime change, the strong preservation of Gypsy traditions and limited access to institutions, especially for women, slowed down the process of role change. However, the forced assimilation efforts, primarily directed at Gypsies, through formal and informal mechanisms, have triggered conscious or instinctive resistance and accelerated the strengthening of the roles, life strategies and identities of Gypsy women.

After the change of regime, the state socialist economy, characterised mainly by full employment, was replaced by mass and persistent unemployment. The emergence of a market economy changed the position of women in the labour market (Frey 2001), but also, in the blink of an eye, undid the social integration of Gypsies that had begun during the years of socialism. It was in this dual force field that Gypsy women had to reorganise their lives and identities and adapt to the changes (Neményi 1999, Kemény 2004, KSH 2016).

In Gypsy families, women's traditional primary role was to care for and serve the family, husband and children. In addition, women had a special role in passing on Gypsy traditions and cultural values.

For this reason, two extreme images of Gypsy women have emerged in most nations: the image of the suspicious, dirty beggar woman who is outside the social order, and the image of the hard-working, mysterious Gypsy woman who cares for her family.

The infiltration of globalisation and modernisation into traditional communities is not only transforming the lives of Gypsy women at the individual level, but also changing the framework of social integration, the way culture is transmitted and socialised, while adding new meanings to the expression of Gypsy culture and the community's set of values. The changing environment gives new meanings to traditions, changes the way culture is transmitted, and shapes the values that define the community's everyday life. The process of change does not, of course, mean the permanent disappearance of Gypsy traditions and customs, but rather the parallel emergence of national values, patterns of behaviour and identity variations alongside the existing ones. The role of Gypsy women in this process of

transformation can be decisive in the integration of the minority group. On the one hand, they ensure the transmission of traditions, but they are also the initiators of change. It is particularly interesting to examine the development of this dual role in the lives of three generations of Gypsy women, and to seek answers to the question of the extent to which the preservation or abandonment of traditions has helped or hindered the social integration of Gypsies over the past 20 years.

Women have a key role to play in passing on values and cultural patterns, and in integrating the rising generation into society in all societies, including Roma communities. However, it is not easy to fulfil this socialisation role at a time when environmental changes are fundamentally transforming the role of Gypsy women in communities. There is no easy recipe for the extent to which Gypsy women, in transmitting values and cultural patterns, adhere to the values and traditions that guarantee the preservation of ethnic identity, or to the extent to which they accept the new models of integration offered by modernisation, which at the same time weaken the bonds of belonging to the community.

The role of Roma women as transmitters of culture and values is also crucial today because the successful social integration of the minority group depends to a large extent on them (Koczé-Popa 2009). On the one hand, they can guarantee the continuation of traditions that are distinctive from the majority society, but which express belonging to the community, and on the other hand, they can also be initiators and agents of social change between majority and minority groups, depending on the model they themselves follow.

In today's globalised world, it is becoming increasingly difficult for Roma to identify with their own culture, because when everyone is part of the world culture, it is difficult to identify cultural roots that point beyond the commonplace. Meanwhile, it is difficult to identify with an identity that is surrounded by many stigmas. It is therefore interesting to see to what extent generations take up traditional identities bound by stigmas, or how they form new, stigma-free identity dimensions and elements for themselves.

Examining the impact of social and economic change on identity is essential to understanding the links between ethnic identity and integration. The novelty of this research is that it examines changes in identity at the intersection of three generations of traditional Gypsy women.

In my research, I have attempted to examine what three generations of Gypsy women consider to be an important part of Gypsy culture, how they identify the main attributes that define Gypsyism, and where they draw the boundaries between the characteristics of mainstream society and the Gypsy traits and dimensions they consider important. Is it conceivable that within each generation of Gypsy women, language, dress, family roles as

distinctive characteristics of the Gypsy ethnic group are discarded and considered less important?

The concept of ethnic identity used in my thesis is based on the theory developed by Fredrik Barth (1969), according to which identity is in a state of constant change. In identifying identity patterns, we are not talking about a given. Identity is created and constantly changing through interactions with other ethnicities. Ethnic identity is both the 'social self-image' that a community develops towards the outside world and the moral, behavioural and customary norms that are transmitted to its members. The self-image, which can be identified as the central unit of identity, can change in the course of constant feedback, and can also be influenced by expectations outside the community. The three generations of Gypsy women, for example, are subject to completely different external structural influences, which have the effect of constantly transforming the identity image of the individuals belonging to the community.

In my research, I approached ethnic identity as a free choice. I investigated the extent to which individuals belonging to a minority group want to identify themselves with that ethnic group (Pulay 2009). My starting point was the assumption that a person's commitment to a group does not mean that he or she behaves according to the group norms and participates in the daily life of the ethnic group. If, on the other hand, the individual's commitment is reflected at the level of norm observance, then the ethnic identity is consistent. A further starting point for the research in the doctoral programme was that different structural influences result in different identity patterns in each generation of Gypsy women.

The main aim of the research was to identify the identity dimensions that were most affected by the earliest changes. In addition, I also sought to identify new or hitherto less prominent ethnic identity dimensions that formed the pillars of constructed/reconstructed Roma identity.

The study was carried out in three settlements in Eastern Hungary, where the majority of the inhabitants are traditional olah Roma groups. In the settlements included, I examined the different identity strategies and their social integration effects in a cross-section of three generations.

There is little existing research on Roma that focuses only on the ethnic identity of Roma women, although understanding Roma women's identity can be a key factor for the social integration of this minority group.

The paper is divided into four major sections. In the first, theoretical part, I interpreted ethnic identity itself. In the course of this chapter, I reviewed the theoretical framework of ethnic minority, ethnic group, ethnic identity, including assimilation, integration, and dual

identity. In the second part, I drew on the domestic and international literature on the topic to outline the theoretical framework and dimensions of inquiry relevant to the study. In the course of my research, I also tried to distinguish the degrees and categories of identity change. This was necessary because I used these categories as the main guiding principle for the analysis of the information obtained during the data collection when exploring the identity patterns of the three generations.

In the third section, I described the methodology used in the study, the research locations and the main attributes of the target group. In the fourth part of the analysis, I presented the changes in the identity dimensions outlined in the theoretical part along the three generations of Gypsy women. This chapter also includes the results, conclusions, sociological implications and possible further research directions on the topic.

The present thesis aims to join a body of research on Gypsy identity that identifies ethnic identity change and Gypsy integration efforts as a central problem, focusing on a specific Gypsy community, with a strong emphasis on the choice of identity-building strategies, their impact on lifestyles and social relations, and the consequences of conversions.

In my own interview research, an important question is to what extent the retention, rejection or transformation of the defining elements of Gypsy identity can be seen as a sign of integration and, if so, through what changes at the community level can this be captured. My research data did not allow me to analyse all the relevant dimensions of identity change, so I focused only on those dimensions - based on the literature I had read - in which I found the most striking changes between generations. The dimensions highlighted show the most signs of distancing from the majority society and become the most visible 'expressive media' demonstrating minority affiliation.

In the course of the research, I focused on the following dominant dimension. Firstly, I examined the most salient area, the 'external character traits dimension' - including the presence of traditional dress, the perception of its significance, the role of symbols, accessories and the issue of 'purity'. Secondly, I analysed the transmission of the Gypsy 'language', the role of communication within the family, between friends, at cultural events and in institutional settings in reinforcing identity. Thirdly, I presented the 'family role dimension', focusing on two areas - employment and the representation of role expectations in relation to child-rearing - and the changing gender roles within this dimension. The fourth is the dimension of culture, which I explored through cultural practices and religion - the values associated with religion and its importance for integration. The ideological agendas of nations

also mostly define the parameters of belonging to a nation along these dimensions (Smith 1986, Csepeli 1992).

II. Overview of the methods used in the research

In my research, I used a qualitative interview technique. First of all, I selected the area of data collection, which is one of the most densely populated areas of the country by Gypsies. After defining the area, I chose settlements where traditional olah Gypsy communities can be found. Due to the unfavourable regional location of the settlements, commuting was - and still is - common among men. They tend to work in the capital, but many go abroad to work in other parts of the country. Gypsy women tend to stay in the settlement - or in the surrounding settlements - with their children, taking casual jobs to improve the family's financial situation. The standard of living of the family, the roles and division of labour within the family - the pattern passed on to the next generation - was thus fundamentally influenced for almost all three generations by the settlement they came from, where they lived, whether Gypsy men worked and the extent to which they were present in the family's daily life.

The majority of the settlements surveyed are inhabited by olah Gypsies, but there are also Hungarian Gypsies in the "romungro" settlements. I have deliberately focused my research on the traditional olah Gypsy group, because in this closed community certain characters are more clearly visible and the process of integration can be better followed than in more diffuse groups. I have chosen the olah Gypsies not only because of their strong links with tradition, but also because of their economic situation. Indeed, compared to other Roma groups, the olah Gypsies are much freer to choose the elements that define their identity because of their wealth, and because the 'easier' livelihood means that material constraints are less important. Of course, their freedom of choice also means that they can retain identity elements for longer, as they live in a more closed community where they are more likely to retain identity elements. According to Williams (1981), the economic system is an important identity-forming element. He takes it as a fact that considerable material wealth also influences consumption patterns in Gypsy communities and results in a completely new life strategy different from the previous one. It assumes that the security of material wealth constantly provides the possibility of rational choices and sets a new direction for the practice of identity construction. I chose the three generations I studied because if such a traditional, relatively closed community undergoes a loss of identity over three generations, it can be assumed that where material constraints are stronger, and where there is a more rapid abandonment of ethnic identity

After selecting the settlements, I used a snowball method to find the three generations of Gypsy women living in the settlements. The success of the research and the gathering of credible information depended on building a relationship of trust, so I moved out to the sampled settlements for several weeks at a time during my research. This also helped me to gain more detailed and deeper knowledge about the women members of the communities, their behaviour, their daily lives and the functioning of the community. In this way I combined my sociological research with some cultural anthropology and participant observation.

I used a qualitative interview technique in my research. During the study, I conducted semi-structured interviews and in my interview sketches, I deepened one research theme with several interlocking questions. Thanks to the semi-structured interview outline, I was able to adjust the order of questions within and between themes to the subjects' responses, thus enriching the information on identity formation.

In the first dimension of the interview schedule, I asked general sociodemographic questions. Then, in the 'family' dimension, I asked about youth, marital status, family formation and breakdown, satisfaction with family life, gender roles and the role of women in communities. I then focused on the dimensions I wanted to investigate: dress, language use, roles within the family and culture - each of which was explained in a separate dimension. As a final question, I asked the interviewees about possible ways of maintaining ethnic identity.

The research involved 52 interviews with 15 three-generation Gypsy families - 15 first-generation, 15 second-generation, 15 third-generation - and 3 first-generation and 2-2 second- and third-generation Gypsy women with no blood relationship. My qualitative research was conducted between 2018-2020.

I used coding to facilitate identification when categorising the interviewees. In the dissertation, I refer to the interviewees by these codes. The first digit of the identifier denotes generation, the following letter denotes marital status - within which separate letters denote married (F), divorced/ single without a man (E), cohabiting (C), unmarried (H), partnered (P) and widowed (W) - and the following letters denote education - less, less than 8 primary (K), elementary (A), secondary school (S), high school (G), university/college (E) - the following letter indicates employment status - none (N), have (H) - the following digit indicates the number of children and finally the last digit indicates the number of families. To avoid duplication, I have also used an identifier for the families so that they can be clearly identified. Thus, the interviewee, identified by code 1FÁN51, is a first generation, married, primary school graduated, unemployed, Ola Gypsy woman with 5 children from the first tribal family. She is a woman - although none of the elements of the identifier indicate this -

because the interviewees are all women. In order to preserve anonymity, I have changed the names of the persons in the quotes to other names.

III. List of findings in the form of theses

My research results show that the intensity of ethnic identity is manifested in different dimensions and in different ways across generations. Gypsy women strive to preserve their identity, but not all dimensions of identity are manifested with the same intensity in the lives of each generation or in the arenas of private life. At the group level, the elements of identity that are represented and maintained and preserved are interrelated, but at the individual level there is not always coherence between identity dimensions - dress, language use, family roles. In closed ethnic communities, the socialisation, transmission, representation or survival of ethnic identity was ensured by the family environment. Modernisation and globalisation, however, have fundamentally challenged the elements that provide ethnic identity, while at the same time breaking down the closed nature of communities and their cultural customs. All of these effects threatened the loss of community. For the three generations, the sense of threat triggered a self-defence reflex, which led to the abandonment of certain elements of identity and the strengthening of other dimensions that reinforced ethnic identity. The members of the group thus strive to maintain the balance of their ethnic identity.

In the case of the first generation, a disengagement from the norms of the majority society can be observed in the dimensions of ethnic identity that I have studied. In the external characteristics, including the dimension of dress, the skirt, blouse, motifs, colours and jewellery show a strong attachment, but the wearing of the shawl is no longer such a strong element, it is malleable. In the linguistic dimension, all the elements that appear in language of communication, language of transmission are strong. As for the roles within the family, traditional female roles, family status, sexuality and mating habits remain strong.

The attitudes of the second generation are no longer the same as those of the previous generation, with changes in all three dimensions of identity. This is due to the fact that they have left the labour market and thus come into more contact with the majority society, urbanisation, increased schooling, secularisation, etc. For second-generation women, jewellery is still a status symbol in the dimension of external character traits, but to a lesser extent than for the older generation. This element is no longer as strong, but rather malleable, and can disappear at any time as an identity marker. Clothing, colours and motifs associated with traditional dress are also less important in this generation, more symbolic elements, out of respect for older generations. In the linguistic dimension, we could see from the interviews that communication with members of the older generation is still in Gypsy language, but with

their children, their colleagues, Gypsy women of their own generation, in the arena of the majority society, they use only Hungarian. Thus, this element is plastic, because if the older generation dies and this generation becomes the oldest generation of the community, there is no longer anyone to communicate with in Gypsy. The transmission of the language is not such an important element of this dimension in this generation. In terms of roles within the family, the issue of sexuality and the preservation of women's purity remains strong, but the relationship to traditional female roles, family status and mate choice is weak.

The intergenerational change is most striking in the case of the third generation, when contact with members of the majority society is more frequent not only because of "labour market" and "institutional" relations, but also because of closer friendships and mixed marriages. In other words, in their case, in comparison with the older generations, the distancing from the majority is quite the opposite, moving in a different direction, and in some cases can be described as integration. In the third generation, the conscious use of symbols and colours in dress is a sign of integration.

In analysing the interviews, the following main results were obtained in response to my research questions.

How strongly is Gypsy identity present among the three generations of Gypsy women?

What are the main dimensions of ethnic identity along which each generation identifies itself?

As the younger generations move towards the younger generation, the frames of ethnic identity have changed from generation to generation and are gradually losing their specific form - the patterns of assimilation generated by modernisation have affected each generation differently. In the generation of grandmothers, there is a clear and strong olah Gypsy identity. They strongly represent their ethnic identity in all three dimensions studied.

In the case of the second generation, social and economic changes have weakened the relationships with the dimensions that define their identity, and they have entered a transitional state in which both Hungarian and Gypsy elements have become important, only in different situations. Language remains an important identity dimension.

By the birth of the third generation - early 1990s - the group cohesion already begun by the second generation had been further weakened. The retaining power of certain identity-defining dimensions - dress, language, roles - had completely disappeared and were replaced by positive patterns of identification "coming from" the majority society. This generation is

not characterised by leaving the group, as the emphasis is mostly on other dimension(s) and ethnic identity remains dominant. The interviews revealed that in this generation, it is not always an emotional break, but rather external structural factors. Gypsy ethnic identity is still important for them, they do not always consider Hungarian identity elements to be "better", but as many do not imagine their life within the borders of the settlements, but within the majority society, renunciation has appeared - so they pay this price, they try to integrate for the sake of integration. The grandchildren's generation is renouncing certain identity categories in order to thrive in the majority society - but not because they are not emotionally attached to the Gypsy identity.

What identity strategies do each generation choose in their daily lives?

The generation of grandmothers, within the framework set by assimilation and dissociative identity strategies, can best be described by the dissociative model - i.e. assuming an ethnic identity and rejecting a national identity. However, they can also be described by a milder version of the dissociative strategy. They have an image of what they are supposed to be, but they are no longer themselves. It is not possible to state unequivocally that they are flawless representations of the external internal traits of classical Gypsy identity.

For the generation of grandmothers, ethnicity is not optional, it is formed by birth, and therefore they have a strong ethnic consciousness and image that is embedded in their identity construction. However, due to their age and their roles, this is limited to the boundaries of the village.

In the case of the second generation, social and economic changes have weakened their links with the dimensions that define their identity, and they have entered a transitional state in which both Hungarian and Gypsy elements have become important, but in different situations. Language remains an important identity dimension. In addition to emotional motives, rational, functional motives also appear, and we can speak of a kind of half-way integration in their case (Csoba-Sipos 2019).

Based on experiences from interviews, third-generation Gypsy girls preserved their traditions to different degrees during social integration and assimilation. Third-generation girls have made group boundaries completely permeable through their integration into educational institutions and the labour market. The group boundary is now only hypothetically present. Their Gypsy identity cannot be examined only in isolation, it has to be considered together with their Hungarian identity, as their ethnic identity has become fully embedded in their national identity due to the crossing of group boundaries.

At the same time, in order for third-generation Gypsy girls to feel Gypsy and to maintain their ethnic attachment, they use the rediscovered identity of the causal model of dual identity (Bindorffer 2001). Third-generation girls adopt ethnic identity patterns that are acceptable to members of the majority society, and in order to do so, they reconstruct certain dimensions of ethnic identity, make them more consumable and associate Gypsy elements with Hungarian elements.

Is there a dimension that is brought to the fore in the lives of the third generation in order to successfully integrate into the majority society?

The main findings of the research are that the results from the interviews highlight that the cultural dimension can be a successful way of social integration through identity preservation and collective reconstruction. Cultural symbols, although highly flexible, help to maintain the stability of ethnic identity. This is particularly true when individuals can choose whether or not they wish to identify with the ethnic group.

We have seen that third generation girls identify themselves as olah Gypsies mostly along cultural lines. The cultural values and norms that are different from the majority peer group and that are specific to Gypsies can be incorporated into their self-image and identity, and are compatible for them with elements of national identity. In their case, there are no signs of assimilation in this dimension for the time being. The elements of minority culture are not only present in the 'festive dimension' but are also expressed in everyday life. In terms of their language use, although there is a strong trend towards assimilation, there is a change of code. In other words, their reflex language has become Hungarian. In the grandchildren's generation, linguistic assimilation is almost complete and there has been a complete language change. However, referring to Gordon (1966), it can still not be considered as fully completed, as the importance of the Gypsy language continues to be prominent during religious liturgies.

No generation is uncertain about their self-definition. Gypsy culture is not only imagined as part of Hungarian culture, it has a right to exist in its own right.

In terms of being a Gypsy, all three generations see themselves as "real Gypsies".

The first generation identifies itself mainly along the lines of separation from the majority society, which it emphasises along traits such as dress, language use and roles within the family. For the second and third generations, however, it is no longer so much the separation from the majority society that dominates. Rather, it is a notion that although the Roma can be described in terms of certain customs and patterns, they are an integral part of Hungarian society.

From the research we can see that integration has already occurred in the lives of these closed Oláh Roma communities, some traditions have been preserved, others have been abandoned from their original culture - but their ethnic identity has not been questioned.

According to Csepeli's terminology, dual identity is present in all minorities, and in our case it seemed to be confirmed. In addition to minority identity, the interviewees accepted symbols, customs and elements linked to national identity. We could see that the emphasis of ethnic and national identity differs from generation to generation, that the assimilation-integration processes do not take place in the same way, because the generations are affected and valued by completely different influences. The economic, political and social processes that characterised the different decades gave different opportunities, socialisation patterns and strategies to the Gypsy women living at that time. Sometimes they reinforced Gypsy traditions, sometimes they marginalised them.

The precarious situation created by the change of regime and the multitude of responses to modernisation have shaken up the social and cultural environment of Gypsy women, which had previously seemed stable, and have prompted them to change. New patterns of adaptation had to be learned, Gypsy women had to reinterpret their ethnic identity, their relationship to culture and traditions, as the previous patterns were no longer applicable in the changed circumstances.

Although they now represent their ethnic identity with a lower intensity in their dress, language habits, family relationships and female roles, and sometimes it seems as if the distinguishing features have been replaced by similarities, they are still present in their daily lives, often with emotional attachments.

An important finding of our research is that both first-generation Gypsy women and third-generation Gypsy girls were found to be free to choose their national and ethnic identities. It is true that first generation women can be described with a milder version of the dissociative strategy, as they adapt to many situations and tools offered by society - replacing traditional clothes for convenience and availability - but they are not "integral parts" of Hungarian society itself.

The preservation of Gypsy culture and its expression - for all generations - shows a strong attachment and belonging to the Gypsy identity.

Furthermore, an important result of the research is that it shows the social integration of third generation Gypsy girls - wearing conscious patterns and maintaining an emphasis on the cultural dimension is a realistic alternative in their choice of identity.

The results of the research have shown that even the most traditional communities can undergo changes over three generations that can, in a positive way, facilitate the integration of

members of minority societies. The study shows that the preservation of identity for the Roma minority is associated with a number of internal and external tensions, especially when members of the majority society hold strong prejudices against the traditional elements of identity - dress, language, roles - of the minority society. This was also experienced in the Oláh Gypsy communities, where members of the third generation - in order to avoid conflicts and exclusion - have designated identity dimensions - culture, religion - that are less identifiable for the majority society when defining themselves.

However, an ethnic group can only survive if it clearly states and represents its own values and identity elements, because if they can no longer or dare no longer name their values, if they hesitate to represent identity dimensions for self-identification, or if they can no longer identify them themselves, it is only a matter of time before they say goodbye to their 'ethnic identity' and assimilate instead of integrating.

In the future, it would be interesting to expand the sample size and examine whether there are differences in identity strategies between different Gypsy groups - Beas, Romany Gypsy. Furthermore, third - or fourth - generation Gypsy girls who are not involved in Roma Colleges in their lives could be included in the sample and see what identity strategies dominate in their case.



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List of publications related to the dissertation

Hungarian book chapters (1)

1. **Maszlag, F.**, Ladancsik, T., Csoba, J.: A kapcsolathálózat fejlődése és annak jelentősége a lokális gazdaságfejlesztési programban.
In: Co-creation a közszolgáltatások modernizációjában : Lokális szolgáltatásfejlesztési kísérletek a közös alkotás módszerével. Szerk.: Csoba Judit, Sipos Flórián, Debreceni Egyetem, Debrecen, 220-235, 2021. ISBN: 9789633189559

Foreign language scientific articles in Hungarian journals (2)

2. Ladancsik, T., **Maszlag, F.**: At the border and beyond: Identification strategies of minorities.
Belvedere Meridionale. 31 (4), 84-100, 2019. ISSN: 1419-0222.
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14232/belv.2019.4.8>
3. Csoba, J., **Maszlag, F.**: Preserving traditions and modernization: Identity patterns of three generations of Romani women.
Belvedere Meridionale. 31 (4), 143-162, 2019. ISSN: 1419-0222.
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Hungarian conference proceedings (3)

4. **Maszlag, F.**: Innovatív identitáselemek megjelenése Keresztény Roma Szakkollégiumi hallgatók körében.
In: XXI. PEME-PhD (Online) Konferencia : Tizenyolc éve az európai szintű tudományos megújulás és a fiatal kutatók szolgálatában. Szerk.: Koncz István, Szova Ilona, Professzorok az Európai Magyarországért Egyesület, Budapest, 140-150, 2021. ISBN: 9786155709135
5. **Maszlag, F.**: Újra felfedezett identitás: a hagyományok újra élése és a pandémia kapcsolata egy roma közösség nő tagjai körében.
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6. **Maszlak, F.**, Virág, Á.: Munkaerő-piaci hátrányok roma nők körében.

In: PEME XIII. PhD : Konferenciakötet. Szerk.: Koncz István, Szova Ilona, Professzorok az Európai Magyarországért Egyesület, Budapest, 65-75, 2016. ISBN: 9786155709005

List of other publications

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7. **Maszlak, F.**: "Együttélés a múltban és jelenben": Cigány lányok önképe a kettős identitás tükrében.

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9. Béres, Z., Ladancsik, T., **Maszlak, F.**, Zámbó, G.: Változások a családban.
Metszetek. 8 (4), 147-151, 2019. EISSN: 2063-6415.
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11. **Maszlak, F.**: MaHolnap: Társadalmi felzárkózási szemle.
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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.18392/metsz/2019/2/8>

Hungarian conference proceedings (1)

12. **Maszlak, F.**: Új foglalkoztatási formák Európában: Összefoglaló a 125. éves Magyar Közgazdasági Társaság Munkaügyi Szakosztálya és a Nemzetközi Gazdasági Szakosztály üléséről.
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Rézümékötet. Szerk.: Kiss Gábor, Vértesi Lázár, Pécsi Püspöki Hittudományi Főiskola, Pécs,
60-62, 2018. ISBN: 9786155579196

Foreign language abstracts (1)

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